L. Linton 8-8 (1926-27) 1930 PTS Tanala PTS

are selected for their poisonous qualities, but the other ingredients are considered magical. The cock's bill gives the dart sure direction and force, like a cork packing, the rag from the piston bellows increases the force of the air, and the *kinkin* wood, which is dark red, will cause the animal to bleed to the last drop.

The poison is made into a cake. Just before shooting a little of it is smeared on the head of the dart and a pinch put on the shooter's tongue. The Tanala say that this poison will kill a large bear in four or five minutes and that it does not injure the flesh. It is possible to eat even the parts immediately about the wound. I suspect that the active principle in the poison comes from the *kinkin* wood, or from some compound which it forms with the insect poisons, for the area within which effective blow-gun poison is known seems to correspond closely with the natural range of this tree.

In addition to the actual poison just described, there is a belief in magical poisons. One informant told me that if a blow-gun was rubbed with the juice of a certain plant all arrows shot from it would be poisonous. Another spoke of a medicine made from a certain root which was so deadly that if it was placed under a house everyone inside would suffer from stomach ache. The hunter inoculated himself with this by rubbing a little of it into a cut in his lower lip and thereafter all darts he shot would be poisonous.

The darts are carried in quivers of wood or bamboo with tight-fitting wooden covers to protect them from the constant rain (Fig. 24, c). Their maximum effective range is 50 to 60 yards.

The bow seems to have been known to all the Madagascar tribes, but the Tsimahafy, in the northern part of the central plateau, were the only ones who used it in war. It is said to have been their main arm. Elsewhere it was little more than a toy and was rarely used by adults. The only Tanala bow seen was a toy (Fig. 28, b), but it is said that large boys formerly used them for hunting. The hunting bows were about 3 feet long and roughly made. The arrows were about 2 feet long and unfeathered. They were usually simply whittled to a point, but one informant had heard of iron arrowheads, made from bits of thin metal with a socket for the shaft.

WARFARE

The Tanala were not lacking in courage or fighting ability, as is proved by their long and successful resistance to the Hova empire, but they were one of the least warlike tribes in Madagascar. A *mélange* of defeated gentes, numerically weak and politically divided,

X. AMUSEMENTS

Toys and Games

The Tanala have a number and a variety of toys. Although these are, in theory, used only by children, they seem to retain a certain lure for adults. I often saw grown men and women playing with the less strenuous toys when there were no children present and when they thought they were not observed. On seeing me, they stopped at once and seemed as embarrassed as an American parent caught under similar circumstances.

A few of the more complicated toys may be made by men, to please their children. However, most toys are made by the children themselves. In this, the boys from ten to fourteen seem to excel, displaying considerable ingenuity and a feeling for good craftsmanship. Girls rarely make toys. The use of various toys seems to run in cycles. At one time all the children in the village will be stilt walking, or playing with bamboo clappers, while a week later something else will have taken their fancy and not one of last week's toys will be in evidence. I believe the following list of toys to be fairly complete, for during my stay at Ambohimanga I was on excellent terms with the children and enlisted their help to round out my collection.

Tanala children are fond of noise-making appliances. The most efficient toy for this purpose is a bamboo clapper, made from a 5-foot section of the largest variety. One end of the bamboo is split back about 2 feet and the halves held apart by a wooden pin placed inside, a few inches back from the outer end. A cord is fastened to the center of this pin, passing out of the bamboo through a hole about halfway down. When the pin is jerked out with the cord, the halves come together with a report like that of a small rifle. This toy seems to be used mainly by the larger boys (Fig. 26, *d*).

The bull-roarer, *tsoroko*, is used mostly by small boys from seven to twelve years old. It is made from a flat strip of bamboo about ¾ inch wide and 5 inches long, bluntly pointed at the ends. One end of this is attached to a slender stick by a cord about 2 feet long. The bull-roarer is swung round the head and makes a whistling, rushing noise of no great volume. It is sometimes used to frighten birds away from the standing crops, but has no ceremonial use or significance (Fig. 26, *c*).

524 Tamotamo, also called tamoela, are among the commonest toys, being used by children of both sexes and all ages and even by adults. They are made from flat pieces of wood in the form of two triangles joined at the ups. Small cross-pieces are usually attached to the ends of the cords (Fig. 26, b).

Hoops are used by small children. They are of three types: a simple hoop made from a piece of vine or a withe bent into a circle and the ends lashed together, a hoop of twisted vine (Fig. 26, g), and a netted hoop. The first two are rolled along with the hand or a small stick. In the netted hoops the interior is filled with a rough network of bark cord in the center of which a short stick is fastened. The hoop is trundled along by this handle. The netted hoop seems to be the favorite of very small children (Fig. 26, e, f).

A wooden cross about 1 foot across is thrown into the air and caught with a loop of cord as it falls. The sides of the arms are usually notched, making it easier to catch. It is played by one person, who both throws and catches. This game is called *kitsoso* (Fig. 27, c). It is a favorite with boys and young men.

[524] There is a toy identical with the European diabolo. A double cone of wood is tossed and caught on a string between two sticks. The resemblance to the European game is so close that I suspect it may be an introduction, but the natives, who are usually reliable [525] in such matters, insist that it is old (Fig. 26, a). It seems to be a favorite game with adolescents.

One of the most important Tanala toys is the top, *tsofriana*, three types being in use. The simplest consists of a straight stick, 5 to 7 inches long and pointed at one end, which is thrust through a round, flat, wooden whorl, much like a spindle whorl (Fig. 27, *f*, *j*). The top of the shaft is grasped between the fingers and thumb and it is set spinning by a quick twist. Tops of this type are often very well made and the whorl may be carved or stained (Fig. 27, h).

Tops of the second type have a heavy, conical body of solid wood with a short stick projecting above. They are spun with a cord, which is wrapped around the projection and then drawn off rapidly. The cord passes through a hole in a flat strip of bamboo. The bamboo is pressed against the stem of the top as the cord is drawn off, insuring even tension (Fig. 27, d).

Tops of the third type are shaped like those of the second except that they lack the stem (Fig. 27, e,. They are spun with whips of plaited bark. Top spinning seems to be limited to boys and young men.

FIG. 56. Toys. a, Stick for Making the Tweeter; b, Tweeter; c, Ball-thrower; d, Bamboo Clapper; e, g, Hoops; f, Boy Playing with Netted Hoop.

524 [525] The top principle is also employed in a game of skill played by men and older boys, often with wagers. The tops used in this game are made from large, flat seeds about 1½ inches in diameter and ⅝ to ¾ inch thick. A round hole about ⅝ inch in diameter is cut in one side of the seed and the kernel removed. A bone point is then attached to the lower side with beeswax (Fig. 27, g). The player spins the seed by inserting the tips of the index fingers of both hands in the opening in its top and giving it a quick twirl. The players stand and flip their tops at another seed of the same variety lying on the ground, or at a small hole or other mark. The player who strikes the mark with the bone point on his seed wins.

Stilts, known by a term which means literally "wooden feet," have been used since prehistoric times. They are made from saplings about 1½ inches in diameter and 5 feet long. About 18 inches from the bottom the stub of a small branch is left projecting as a foot rest. The upper ends of the stilts are grasped in the hands. Stilt walking seems to be a solitary sport, practiced mainly by young children.

Among minor toys may be mentioned slender forked sticks, used by boys to imitate cattle horns when they play at fighting bulls or bull baiting. A heavier stick, with a cow's hoof carved on the end, is also used to make artificial cattle tracks in games of cattle stealing or pursuing thieves (Fig. 26, a).

[117] Pop guns are also to be reckoned among the minor toys, although they are pretty certainly of European origin. They are made from sections of bamboo about 1½ inches in diameter and 2 feet long. A strip of bamboo is bent into U form and inserted in a slit in the top of the tube, to serve as a spring. This is drawn back and held by another strip of bamboo which is pivoted to the tube by a wooden pin (Fig. 28, c). These pop guns are used to shoot small stones or clay pellets.

An interesting toy consists of a short section of reed or small bamboo with the end split and spread into a cone. A pith ball is placed in the cone and the player balances it there by throwing back his head and blowing through the tube with exactly the right force (Fig. 27, a).

224 968 While I was in Ambohimanga the boys frequently brought me small models of traps which they had made. These were offered for sale and I doubt whether such models were used in their own play. They begin to make real traps for small birds and mammals at a 000 very early age. Tanala toys seem to be characterized by an almost

Fig 27. From a. Fish Bait and Hook, b. Pendant, c. Throwing Cross Stick, d. Sling Stone e. Whipping Top, f, j. Wheel Stone g. Top Stone h. Carved

L. Lowie B-0 (1920-21) 1920 FTS Tanala FTS

§24 Tanala boys seem to be characterized by the almost complete absence of replicas of things used by adults. I never saw any small figures of cattle or chickens, although such playthings are very common among the pigmies tribes, or any miniature tools or utensils. The girls did not even have dolls.

At least one form of mechanical puzzle is in use (Fig. 27, b). The object of this puzzle is to transfer the seeds from one-half of the stick to the other without untying the string. I saw several examples of this puzzle, all exactly alike, and informants said it was the only one known to them.

String figures appear to be entirely lacking. I showed several children how to make some of the simpler ones, but the idea seemed to be quite new to them and they soon lost interest. I doubt whether any of the Malagasy made string figures in ancient times. The Betsileo seem to be the only tribe familiar with them at present and they have only a few, very simple figures which they could easily have learned from Europeans.

§25 Boys begin to use the bow and arrow, blow-gun and sling at an §26 early age. The bow remains a toy, used by older boys for hunting small game (Fig. 28, b), but the blow-gun and sling become, for adults, important weapons. Natives of all ages are expert in throwing stones by hand, but they have no ball games and most of them have great difficulty in catching an easily thrown ball. While still very young, boys begin to practice throwing palm ribs and reeds at a mark and the skill thus acquired is very helpful when, as adults, they begin to use the spear. Before the natives were disarmed by the French, men often engaged in spear-throwing contests.

§26 Athletic sports are common. The boys of a village will divide into two groups and play at war, one group defending the village and another attacking. Scouts are sent out on both sides and the boys maneuver as in real warfare. This sham fighting is carried on under the direction of old men who prevent real fights and at the same time train the boys in the best way to take cover, advance under fire, etc. Aside from this, there seem to be no sports which require team work.

All the Tanala know how to swim, but it is rarely indulged in as a sport. I never saw them swim, as I was in their territory during the cold season, but was told that they used a crawl stroke. Apparently they do no fancy swimming or diving.

The Tanala Ikongo are fond of wrestling, although it is less important here than among the Bara or Sakalava. The wrestling is of the "catch as catch can" variety and a fall consists in having

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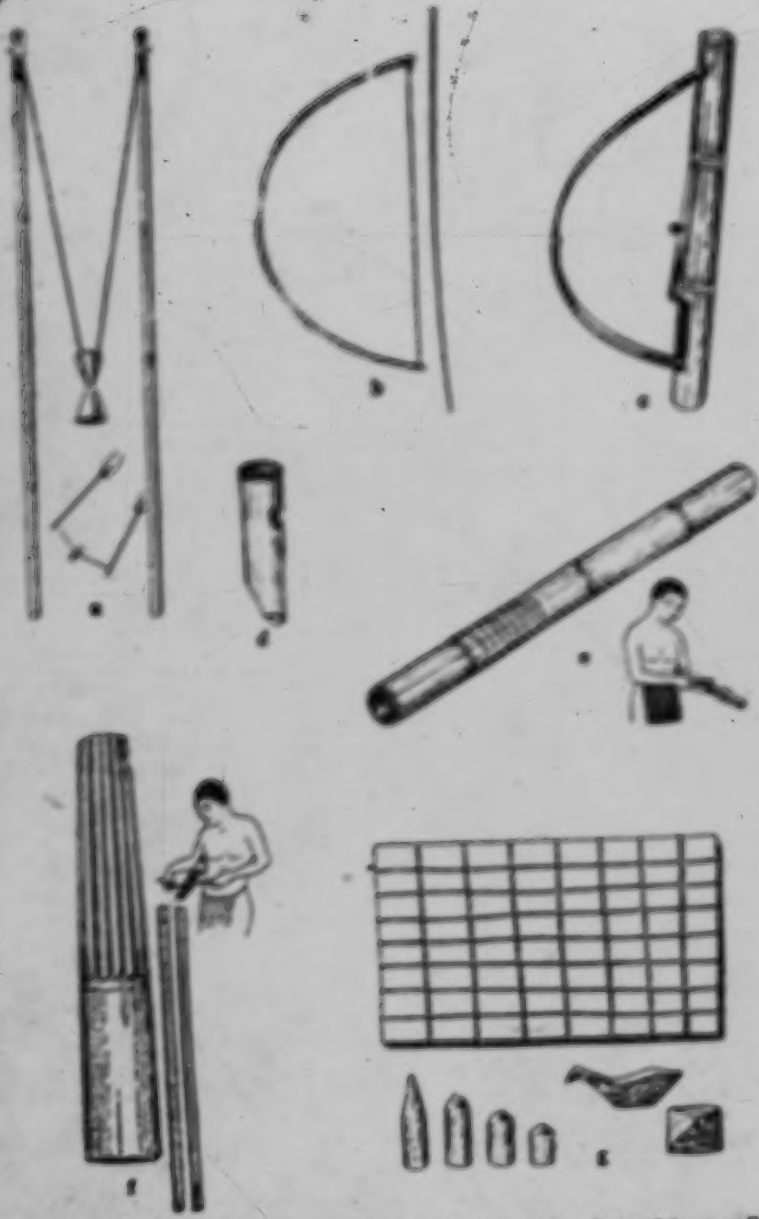

Fig. 58. Toys and Musical Instruments. a, Diabolo Game; b, Toy Bow and Arrows; c, Bamboo Pop Gun; d, Bamboo Whistle; e, Bamboo Rasp; f, Kithara; g, Chess Board and Men

526 both the loser's shoulders touch the ground simultaneously. The wrestlers display more strength than science and apparently there are no named grips. Striking or striking an opponent is considered unfair, but there are no ot*her* fouls and injuries are not uncommon. The bystanders act as umpire and will separate the contestants if they lose their tempers. However, the Tanala seem to have a fairly strong sense of fair play and the loser usually takes his defeat very good-naturedly.

The Tanala Menabe rarely do "catch as catch can" wrestling, preferring two milder forms of the sport. In one of these the contestants stand facing each other, seize each other round the waist, and try to trip each other. In the other, a man stands with his right arm extended and elbow bent, the clenched fist being held in front of his face. His opponent seizes the wrist with both hands and tries to throw him off balance. If he moves his feet, he loses the bout. This sport is also a favorite with the Betsileo. Both these forms of [764] wrestling are indulged in at funerals, but simply as a part of the general jollification.

Boxing is almost unknown, although it is a favorite sport of both the east coast and plateau tribes. In this boxing, blows are delivered with a wide swing, not from the shoulder as with Europeans. Although the fighting looks clumsy, the blows arrive with great force and I have seen both bones of a man's forearm broken in attempting to ward one off. Fighting with the feet, which the Imerina have brought to a fine art, is quite unknown to the Tanala.

Bull baiting should also be mentioned among athletic sports, [554] for it is regularly practiced at funerals and a good bull baiter possesses great prestige. A description of it will be found in the section on Domestic Animals.

541 Watching fighting bulls was a favorite amusement in ancient times, but seems to be rapidly becoming obsolete (see Domestic Animals). As far as I could learn, other animals were rarely pitted against each other. There is no systematic cock fighting here, although it was common among the plateau tribes.

524 There are a few games. Small children play a game with buttons or shells, etc., on a series of irregularly drawn connected rectangles. The pieces represent various members of a family: the husband, wife or wives, and the children. The husband is usually represented by a long, pointed object and the wives by round ones. Each piece represents the same individual throughout the game. The player moves them about the diagram at will, acting out long and com-

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plicated plots. The family will be taken through all sorts of adventures, with marriages, births, deaths, building of new houses, and all the routine of daily life. This game is a pure exercise of imagination, comparable to our own children's "playing house" except that the player does not participate. Several children may play at it together, but the players are never identified with the characters and there is no element of contest.

Games of chance appear to be entirely lacking, but there are two games of skill, played by adults. One of these, *katra*, is known all over Madagascar, although the rules probably vary somewhat from tribe to tribe. The other, a form of chess, is certainly of Arab origin and seems to be limited to the Tanala Ikongo and a few tribes on the southeast coast. *Katra* is played mainly by women and older children, chess only by men.

Katra is played on a diagram having from twenty-four to forty positions which are arranged in four parallel rows. Many tribes employ regular gaming boards with pits at the positions and a larger pit at one end for spare pieces, but the Tanala content themselves with marking the positions on the ground. The pieces used are everywhere large, round gray seeds about the size of marbles. These seeds do not grow in the plateau and the tribes there import them from the east coast.

The Tanala normally employ thirty-two pits, arranged in four rows of eight each. The method of play can best be described with the aid of a diagram. In this the letters indicate the position and the numbers show the number of seeds in each position. Before beginning the game two seeds are placed at each pit.

1

I	*J*	*K*	*L*	*M*	*N*	*O*	*P*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
i	*j*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Diagram 1 represents the initial set-up. The first player selects a position at random, usually one in the back row, takes out the seeds and drops them one at a time into the other pits along the

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

524 row. He may start out either right or left, but this initial move determines the direction he must follow throughout the game. Let us suppose he begins with he position *L* and elects to move to his right. He takes the two see ls from *L* and drops one each in *K* and *J*. He then takes the three seeds from *J* and drops one each in *I*, *A* and *B*. Ending in *B*, which already contains seeds, he is entitled to take those of his antagonist's hole *b*, which lies opposite. After this capture he has five seeds, which he deposits successively in *C*, *D*, *E*, *F* and *G*. At *G*, he captures the seeds in *g*, giving him five in hand once more. He drops these successively in *H*, *P*, *O*, *N* and *M*. Taking the three from *M*, he drops them successively in *L*, *K* and *J*. As *J* has been empty, he is unable to move farther and "sleeps" there while his antagonist makes the next move. At this stage of the game the arrangement will be as follows:

2

I	*J*	*K*	*L*	*M*	*N*	*O*	*P*
3	1	4	1	0	3	3	3
A	*B*	*C*	*D*	*E*	*F*	*G*	*H*
3	0	3	3	3	3	0	3
a	*b*	*c*	*d*	*e*	*f*	*g*	*h*
2	0	2	2	2	2	0	2
i	*j*	*k*	*l*	*m*	*n*	*o*	*p*
2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2

Let us suppose that the second player begins at *l* and elects to move to the right also. He drops the two seeds taken from *l* successively in *m* and *n*, and the three from *n* in *o*, *p* and *h* successively. At *h* he captures the three in *H*, giving him six in hand, which he deposits successively in *g*, *f*, *e*, *d*, *c* and *b*. As both *b* and *B* are empty, he is compelled to "sleep" and the move passes to the first player. This player can begin at any point again, but must move to the right. If the last seed is deposited in an empty hole and there is only one seed in the antagonist's hole opposite, this cannot be captured, but if there is more than one in the player's last hole, the antagonist's single seed can be taken. The play goes on until one side or the other has gathered all the seeds. When an antagonist's front row has been cleared, the player takes seeds from his back row under the same rules as if it were his front row.

A single game may last for hours and the natives show considerable skill in figuring out the results of a movement many places ahead and selecting their starting point accordingly. The game is

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

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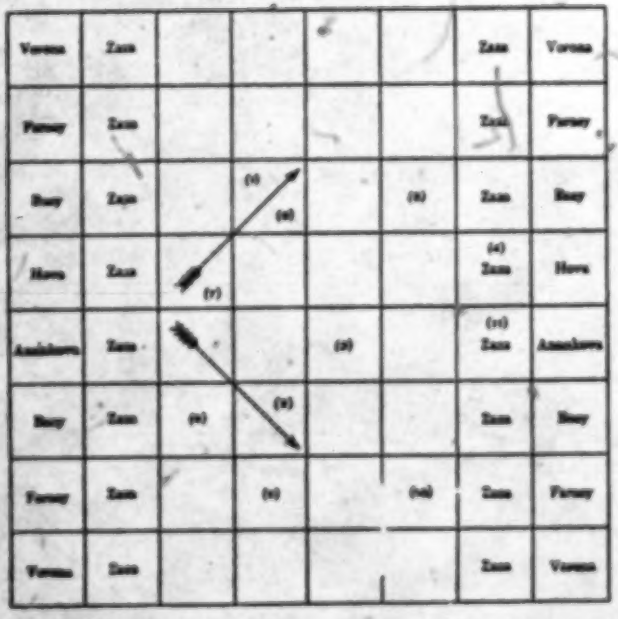

FIG. 28. Chess Board and Men (from "Le mananay," Ardant du Picq, Bulletin de l'Academie Malgache, vol. X, p. 267).

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

524 sometimes shortened by agreeing that the player shall capture the seeds in the antagonist's front and back rows simultaneously. Thus if a play came out with the capture of the seeds at *D*, those at *L* would be taken simultaneously. The Imerina call this *katra boaoaka*, but the Tanala seem to have no name for this variation.

Native chess, called *samantsy* (Figs. 28, g; 29) is not played by the Tanala Menabe. For the following description of the game, as played by the Ikongo, I am indebted to an article published by [113] Captain Ardant du Picq, in the Bulletin de l'Academie Malgache, vol. X, pp. 267–268. Fig. 29 is copied from his article. Captain du Picq says:

"The game is played on a board divided into 64 squares. Each side has 16 pieces, as follows—8 *Zaza*, 2 *Vorona*, 2 *Farasy*, 2 *Basy*, 1 *Anankova* and 1 *Hova*. The shapes of the pieces are shown in the accompanying illustration [Fig. 29], also their arrangement on the board. Those of one side are of white wood, those of the other black. The general rules of play are that the game is won when the opposing *Hova* is blockaded; that one piece, when it takes another, takes its place; and that no piece except the *Farasy* can move over another piece. The moves of the various pieces are as follows:

"1. The *Zaza* moves from A to B, straight before it for any clear distance and captures neighboring pieces on the diagonals, as (1) and (2). When it arrives at B it acquires all the properties of the *Anankova* for moves and captures.

"2. The *Vorona* moves rectangularly for any clear distance and captures in the same way.

"3. A *Farasy* placed, for example, at (3) can move to (4), (5), (6), (7), (8), (9), (10) or (11). It captures in the same way. It is the only piece which can pass over other pieces.

"4. The *Basy* moves diagonally passing over one square and captures in the same way.

"5. The *Anankova* moves diagonally square by square and captures in the same way.

"6. The *Hova* moves rectangularly or diagonally square by square and takes in the same way. It cannot be taken by any other piece and *Hovas* cannot take each other."

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

534 Tanala musical instruments include stringed instruments, wind instruments, drums and rattles, all of a fairly primitive sort. The

1: Linton E-5 (1926-27) 1933 FY8 Tanala FY8

534 being of different size. The body of the drum is long and biconical. The maximum diameter comes at a point about one-third the length of the drum from its larger end. The total length is about 18 inches, with a maximum diameter of about 9 inches for the larger and 7 inches for the smaller drum of the pair (Fig. 31, a). The heads are made of very thin skin, put on with double rings of withes, as in the *amponga*. On the outer side of the smaller head of each drum there is a third ring, made from a roll of cloth. This is rather loosely fastened, with small cord, to the lashings below. The longitudinal lashings, which unite the two heads, are of bark or raffia rope, never of hide. They are tightened by means of notched stretchers, which can be slid up and down the sloping body of the drum to get the correct tension.

The drum is suspended from the shoulders of the player, hanging horizontal at about the level of his waist with the large end to the right. The large end is beaten with a small stick while the small end is simultaneously struck with the palm or knuckles. Four main tones, with numerous variations, can be produced by the two drums played in unison. Some of the drum rhythms are quite complicated. The *hazo lahy* are not used for ordinary social dances, although they do not seem to be definitely taboo. They are played at funerals and sacrifices, at the erection of memorial stones, at the dances preceding the setting out of a war party and on other serious occasions.

202 The Tanala have nothing resembling the drum signaling found in various other parts of the world. The only place in Madagascar where this occurs is among certain Mahafaly gentes in the extreme southwest of the island and even there the code appears to be rudimentary.

534 524 Rattles are of two types, that used with the musical bow, already described, and dance rattles, called *kaiamba*. The latter are made from joints of bamboo or large reeds about 1 foot long and 1 to 1½ inches in diameter. In the bamboo rattles, a hole is burned through the septum at one end, seeds or small stones inserted and the hole plugged. In the reed rattles, one side of the tube is split while still green and the seeds or pebbles forced in. The slit closes as the reed dries. These rattles are carried in dances by the women, who shake them in time to their movements, and are also used as toys by children (Fig. 30, k).

A crude musical instrument is made by cutting notches along one side of a joint of bamboo. A sliver of wood or bamboo is rubbed

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rapidly back and forth across these. This musical rasp is used only by children and might be classed as a toy (Fig. 28, e). 534 524

Another children's instrument called *kididedra* consists of a joint of bamboo with the outer end cut into a number of strips about 8 to 10 inches long and ¼ to ½ inch wide. The bamboo is cut away between these strips, forming slots of equal width. The player holds the uncut part of the bamboo in his armpit and beats the strips with two small sticks (Fig. 28, f).